

THE NEW YORK PRESS. Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon the Most Important Topics of the Hour.

Denunciation of Congress.

The XXXIXth Congress has now been two months in session. It has not acted with that energy and decision which the state of our currency, finances, and taxes imperatively requires. Whatever is to be done with regard to these should have been promptly done, so that industry and business might have adjusted themselves to the policy of the Government, instead of being exposed to shipwreck through non-conformity.

But Congress is not assailed for its inaction with regard to the currency, but for its earnest endeavors to render the freedom of four millions just released from life-long bondage substantial and abiding—not for its disregard of the public faith, but for its devotion thereto. For years, the champions of slavery have been warning us that the liberation of the slaves would result in their extermination—that they would be far worse off in freedom than in bondage—that they would be ground to powder under the heel of "the superior race," if they should ever be freed from the protection afforded them by the interest and affection of their masters.

Mr. Trumbull's two bills—to enlarge the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau, and to protect all the American people in their natural civil rights—are notoriously demanded by and adapted to our existing state of facts. If the laws and usages of the Southern States were just and equal, they would be superfluous. They are needed simply because they are not. A black man, solely because he is black, is denied the common rights of human beings—is treated as having no rights that whites are bound to respect. The laws of the South, and still more the dominant opinion, and they may be properly treated as black as brute rather than man.

But General Grant—should he not be accepted as a creditable witness? May we not rely upon the conclusions arrived at by one whose career has been distinguished by devotion to the Union, and against whom none has yet ventured to prefer the charge of partisanship? May we not trust to the determination to perfect the work of terminating the Rebellion, and to take care that the restoration of the Union shall be so thorough as to be enduring? Surely, if any man is entitled to be heard respecting, and as an authority upon matters relating to the colored race, it is General Grant.

What is wrong in this article? What is harsh, proscriptive, or oppressive? South Carolina sees fit to say, "Negroes have no right to form a portion of our body politic; we will not educate their children; nor seek to qualify them for a beneficial exercise of the right of suffrage; nor let them vote." "Yes," Mr. Trumbull says, "your blacks shall count at your own estimate of their capacities in making up your basis of representation in Congress; and so with those of every State." If this is not fair and equal, what could be? Is it not monstrous to insist that they shall have no voice in public affairs, yet that those who stifle that voice, and insist that it is unfit to be heard, shall enjoy double power on their account—four millions of blacks affording the basis upon which blacks are to be kept dumb and fettered victims?

Does anybody doubt the difference in the degree of authority which the two witnesses possess? Is it pretended that Carl Schurz is a closer observer, a clearer thinker, a more impartial judge, a better patriot, than General Grant? Is it alleged that Carl Schurz is a more vigilant guardian of the process, than General Grant? On the contrary, is not the conviction all but universal that while Grant is a patriot Schurz is a mere partisan—that while Grant, happily independent of parties, desires nothing more than the reassertion of Union authority over the South and the quickest possible acceptance by the South of the logical sequences of the war, Schurz is the mouthpiece of those who would reduce the Southern States to the condition of conquered provinces?

General Sherman is one of our latest witnesses. His report of affairs in the department of Arkansas, communicated to the Senate on Friday, embodies representations which should have the careful attention of every conservative in and out of Congress. "So far as my observation reaches," he says, "the gallant soldiers 'there is perfect satisfaction' felt by all classes of people, except on the part of a very few, who are looking to future combinations involving the local and unimportant State interests, and what of the negroes' stories concerning the treatment of negroes." General Sherman shall answer:—"The negroes in Arkansas can all find profitable and lucrative employment, and are protected in all their rights and property by the laws of the United States, and no citizen or soldier who has been doubted, that their freedom was as well assured in Arkansas as in Ohio." Could more in the meantime be desired? Is it not enough that the negroes so recently freed from the protection of their freedom, offered opportunities of labor on their own account, and assured of proper privileges in civil courts? Or is equality to give place to negro superiority in accordance with the judgment of the negroes in the Rebellion, and so put to shame the legends of soldiers to whom the actions of history have hitherto awarded praise?

The informal testimony of another witness we printed yesterday. We refer to two orders addressed to the colored people of Mississippi by Colonel Thomas, the officer charged with the affairs of the Freedmen's Bureau in that State. Both of these documents refer to contracts for labor during the present year, and are valuable because showing the policy of the Government towards the negroes in Mississippi arising from their aver-

sion to systematic labor. Colonel Thomas puts into the duty of the white employers in the premises, and urges upon them the expediency of educating the freedman up to the standard of usefulness as a citizen. On the other hand, he reminds the freedman of the necessity of laboring for themselves, instead of relying upon the bounty of the National Government. "I often hear," he says, "that you are crowding into towns, refuse to hire out, and are waiting to see what the Government will do for you. He tells them, moreover—"I know you can get good wages, with considerable employers, who will treat you well and pay for all you do." And he counsels them to enter into contracts to work for their living, and to give their attention to mischief-makers, and rely upon the Freedman's Bureau for protection only so long as they are deserving of it.

The interferences suggested by these orders are very different from the obstacles to improvement in the condition of the freedman in Mississippi is his own aversion to steady employment. And this aversion is evidently proceeds from misconceptions conveyed by emissaries of Northern agents to the colored people. But what will now be said of Colonel Thomas? Gentlemen of the Fred. Douglass stripe will forthwith denounce him as the enemy of the colored race. We know how malignantly he considered that John Johnson's difficulties about having suggested to discharged negro troops the necessity of working steadily, and so proving themselves worthy of recognition as citizens. That advice has been held to be an outrage upon the colored race, and a violation of the laws of the country. And the same indignation under which Andrew Johnson is to be tried as a "traitor," "grant," and "usurper." Is it probable that Colonel Thomas will fare better? We do not know, but we apprehend, entirely satisfied with the choice of civilians to superintend the provisional administration of State affairs. And as every one of these not only possessed intimate knowledge of the conditions of his own State, but possessed a reputation for attachment to the Union which, though often assailed, never was tarnished, we may assume that he formed the best possible medium for conveying to the President the true state of the foundation of subsequent Executive action.

Assailing the policy of the President, however, the more ultra of the radicals have called in question the accuracy of the information upon which he relied for guidance. By this they are favored almost every alternate day with passages from the letters of unknown, irresponsible parties, whose aversion are in some manner made uniformly to tally with the views of those who believe in the subjugation of the Southern States and the civic rights of the Southern blacks to power and pre-eminence. If it is of no avail that for every one of these anonymous writers counter-statements may be had from Southern citizens of known repute. The latter are of little avail as against the one great hobby. Newspaper correspondents, too, are paraded as witnesses before whom President Johnson and his Provisional Governors cannot stand.

It matters not that for every aspersion cast upon the South by emissaries sent there in the interest of the agitators, a vindication of the South may be had from letters published in other journals, from the pens of acknowledged character and intelligence. The practice is to ignore the vast mass of published correspondence, tending to show the gradual but apparently genuine adaptation of the Southern people to the new order of things, and the growth of proper industrial relations between the whites and the blacks. Thus the evidence afforded in our own columns by writers whose every letter indicates extensive observation, familiarity with facts, and a power of discriminating between the professed and the true, goes for nothing in the radical mind, so compared with scraps culled from nameless sheets, conducted by parties intent upon nothing but the promotion of the disorganizing policy.

But General Grant—should he not be accepted as a creditable witness? May we not rely upon the conclusions arrived at by one whose career has been distinguished by devotion to the Union, and against whom none has yet ventured to prefer the charge of partisanship? May we not trust to the determination to perfect the work of terminating the Rebellion, and to take care that the restoration of the Union shall be so thorough as to be enduring? Surely, if any man is entitled to be heard respecting, and as an authority upon matters relating to the colored race, it is General Grant. And what he says upon the subject the country knows. In his judgment, the work of the war is virtually ended. The South, as he sees it, accepts the condition, and gives satisfactory indications of renewed loyalty. He regards the authority of the Union as re-established there, and the suggestions he offers for utilizing the small remainder of the military force in connection with the business of the Freedmen's Bureau, proves that his judgment is not one-sided. The Northern negro worshiper is the most formidable obstacle to the adjustment of difficulties between the two races.

What do the radicals say in reply to General Grant? It were too much to expect of them the adoption of his version of facts, or the abandonment of their crusade in conformity with his opinions. A counter-witness is needed, and they have him on hand. Mr. Carl Schurz, the man by courtesy, General Schurz. Take him as an authority, and we must consider the campaigns of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas failures, so far as the restoration of the Union is concerned. Now they are suffering the fate of all who for the blind and ignorant purposes of a private right and justice. Influenced by their own passions and selfish policy, regardless of the well-being of the masses or mankind, these monarchical and aristocratic rulers listened to the promises of the Republican party, and were told that the great republic was broken up never to be restored, and they believed it. But it was not written so in the book of fate, which was closed to their eyes. The republic is preserved, and is now a mightier power than ever. The Republic, which a few agitators fanatic more in our domestic political affairs will be calmed down soon, and we shall become more firmly united than heretofore. Our destiny, so far from being circumscribed or arrested by the European intervention, is now more open than ever. England is sorely disturbed in the United Kingdom and in her colonies by Fenianism. A rebel apparition haunts her slumbers now. A widespread organization which was avowed at a few months ago turns out not to be so contemptible, and no one can tell how serious it may become. There are, too, other latent causes of trouble both in Canada and Australia. The financial condition of the kingdom also is evidently in a very deplorable condition. Then there is the question of the gallant soldiers of the Anglo-Boer claims hanging over her.

With regard to France, the very measures the Emperor Napoleon took to check the United States and to increase his power in America have proved his greatest trouble. The truth has turned to ashes in his mouth. He has become aware that he cannot remain in Mexico, and that his experiment of erecting an empire and making an emperor is a failure. He does not know how to get out of the dilemma without disgrace. The loss of his prestige for sagacity and statesmanship might materially weaken his hold upon the French people and his power in Europe, to say nothing of the cost of his effort to maintain it. All this may strengthen greatly the opposition, which begins to show vitality, and, amid the revolutionary elements that are fermenting in Europe, might endanger his dynasty. The retributive hand of Justice is already upon his head, and makes him feel very uneasy about this Mexican business. Undoubtedly he wishes he had not touched it.

As to poor Spain, her political part of the European intervention with America is proving equally disastrous. She came out of the St. Domingo affair, as well as out of the Mexican, in a humiliating manner. Her attack upon the republics of South America is involving her in the greatest difficulty. Her prospect is not bright, and she will be compelled to succumb in the struggle. Under any circumstances she cannot come out with credit. At home the whole kingdom is in

ferment of revolution. The dynasty of Isabella itself hangs upon a slender thread. Thus, we see, the avenging Nemesis pursues also this other monarchical conspirator against republican liberty. The United States is not only a great republic in itself, but is the representative of republican ideas and of freedom for the people of all nations, and any assault upon our Government, openly or insidiously, must recoil upon those who are the friends of the people everywhere. Our friends, if the crowned heads and privileged classes are not.

The Pacific Railroad—Political and Material Development of the West. From the Rocky Mountains, especially in the two precious metals, which have always been the darling objects of human cupidity, renders the speedy completion of the Pacific Railroad an enterprise of the first magnitude.

The through traffic on so long a line as that between the Pacific and the Mississippi could never pay the expenses of the road. But the mining industry of the mountain regions will immediately furnish a vast amount of way business; and the rapid development of the mines consequent on the completion of the road will stimulate and enlarge all points of the route by furnishing a market for its products. Colorado is richer in the precious metals than California; and the only reason why it has not filled up as rapidly with inhabitants as California did in 1849 is because it is not so easily accessible. The close of the war, and the release of so many young men who have enlarged their horizon of thought by traversing immense distances, and whose military life has filled the mind with the spirit of adventure, will cause the tide of emigration to set powerfully towards those tempting regions. It is fortunate for the country that, at the close of so great a war, this magnificent field of enterprise is newly opened, and that the restless spirits who might otherwise disturb the peace of society, be turned to hardy, adventurous, and locomotive, to inhale the open air, and gaze at wild prospects, they will find their old occupations insupportably tame and lifeless, and will naturally seek to find new fields of activity in the West. They will there find scope for the courage, as well as the hardness of soldiers. The remnants of the Indian tribes are scattered through these regions, and with advancing civilization progress are being made in their behalf. They will be likely to make a desperate effort to save their race from extinction.

So great are the attractions of that part of the country, that, in spite of long and lonely journeys, and the privations of a frontier life, it is amazing. The following interesting statements are taken from the recent message of Governor Cummings, of Colorado:— "Probably no data could be collected which would give a more correct estimate of the extent and importance of the trade in the West, than I present here a few facts which will suggest the extent and importance of it. It is estimated that the keeper of a toll-bridge on the Santa Fe road, which traverses southern Colorado for a distance of about 200 miles, kept a register of the number of men, teams, and animals engaged in the transportation of freight on the road, for the six months ending November 20, 1865, and reports as follows:— Number of men employed..... 5,172 Number of animals employed..... 45,850 Pounds of freight carried..... 30,125,000 The number of teams employed..... 10,000 Company alone was shipped, from Atchison to Denver City, during the month ending December 1865, 3,070,000 pounds, and through Colorado to other points an additional amount of 2,719,000 pounds. Besides this very large amount of freight has been shipped by other forwarding houses, from the number of men, teams, and animals engaged in the transportation of freight on the road, for the six months ending November 20, 1865, and reports as follows:— Number of men employed..... 5,172 Number of animals employed..... 45,850 Pounds of freight carried..... 30,125,000 The number of teams employed..... 10,000 Company alone was shipped, from Atchison to Denver City, during the month ending December 1865, 3,070,000 pounds, and through Colorado to other points an additional amount of 2,719,000 pounds. Besides this very large amount of freight has been shipped by other forwarding houses, from the number of men, teams, and animals engaged in the transportation of freight on the road, for the six months ending November 20, 1865, and reports as follows:—

But what is much more remarkable than all this is the fact that the population of the State of Colorado, the engineer appointed to survey the route for a railroad from Golden City, at the entrance to the mountains, to Black Hawk, the center of the great mining district, in the course of less than twenty-five miles. He states that upon inquiry of the merchants of Central, Nevada, and Black Hawk cities, in the month of August, 1865, he ascertained that the amount paid by the merchants of these cities for freight during the year, principally in the summer and autumn, for supplies taken over this short distance, was \$1,000,000. This is a large amount of money, and this sum does not include anything paid for machinery or supplies forwarded directly to the mining companies, which would probably be not less than two hundred thousand dollars in addition to the former sum. In these facts were not verified, they would appear incredible.

By comparing the number of men with the number of animals, it will be seen that each man must drive or take care of from four to six mules each, or single teams of eight or ten. By comparing the men with the freight, we find that the average is 5000 pounds, or two and a half tons, to each driver. Of these teams the men loaded, making also teams for night stoppages and detentions by stormy weather, there must have been something like three (or, if each driver had two, six) teams an hour passing the toll-bridge; which would keep the toll-bridge busy with teams at distances of less than a mile apart. And this on one only of the two great routes. It is obvious, from these statements, that the Pacific Railroad will do a large business from the mountains of its completion, and that the rapid development of the country caused by it will, in a few years, overwhelm it with an unmanageable traffic.

The speedy settlement of that vast region, embracing the Territories soon to become States, will have a great influence on the distribution of political power in this country. Owing to the peculiarity of our Federal institutions, the transfer of political influence will very much depend upon the number of States admitted to the Union. Territories will be admitted into the Union as fast as they have as many inhabitants as entire one of the older States to an additional representative. But from the moment any one Territory becomes a State, its weight in the higher branch of Congress is equal to that of the most populous member of the Union. These ten new States will add twenty members to the Senate before they have population enough to make any perceptible difference in the House of Representatives. They will probably hold the balance of power in the Senate before the passions which now agitate the country have spent their force. In what direction their influence will be exerted is a question of great interest, and one upon which we must take into account both the probable character of its settlers and the local influences by which they will be surrounded. The best part of its early settlers will be furnished by the disbanded armies of the two hostile sections. Those who enlisted, on either side, embraced all the young men of enterprise; all that class to whom the ordinary routine of tranquil pursuits seemed tame; and who were impelled by the impulse, restless ambition, and the love of excitement, hazard, and adventure. Their military experience has increased their natural restlessness, and they can never settle down with content in the dull round of their old pursuits, especially when such a tempting delusion is opened before them as is presented in those magnificent mountain States, abounding in sublime scenery and mineral wealth. More settlers, in proportion, will go thither from the South than from the North, both because their homes have been blasted by the desolation of war, and because the elevation of the negroes to the rights of freemen will incite the poorer classes of the South to escape a fancied degradation.

As to the soldiers, the disbanded armies of the two hostile sections, and the intermingling in the virgin territories of the West, they will be better friends than if they had never confronted each other in deadly conflict. Neither side has any reason to be ashamed of its soldiery; and men of tested bravery seldom fall in mutual respect. This is one reason why the political influence of those new States will be favorable to conciliation.

Another reason will grow out of their close proximity to the doomed Indian tribes. As respects the diversity of human races, the predominant feeling in those new States will not be that all men of all colors are equal, but that the various nations of savagery must give way to the higher claims of civilization; and that the inferior human races must yield to the superior. This feeling, which will be inspired by their local circumstances, is doubtless in pursuance of the design of the Author of nature. During the long geological cycles while the earth was being prepared for the habitation of the superior animals, it was tenanted by fauna which gradually became extinct at the opening of a new epoch. Just in the same way, while navigation, discovery, and the arts necessary to rapid colonization were being perfected, the greater part of the earth's surface has been given up to inferior tribes, which must recede and disappear before the advance of civilization. In one or two centuries, the last relics of the aboriginal tribes will have vanished from this continent, which will be peopled with inhabitants from various European stocks.

The human race is so prolific, the procreative instinct has so much energy, that the best stocks, should they multiply without check, would overrun the world and outstrip its capacity to support its inhabitants. It is better, now that the world is ripening for it, that the earth should be tenanted by the superior and progressive races. Whether this be true or false philosophy, the people of the Rocky Mountain States are pretty certain to act upon it; and they will accordingly, as a community, have no sympathy with the makeshift philanthropy which exalts the interests of the Southern negroes into equal competition with those of the white race.

The people of the Mountain States, from the immense distances they must traverse to get there, from the enlargement of ideas and imagination incident to the habit of looking upon the world as a vast arena in following the channels through which their products will find a market, and from the wide areas from which their original population is gathered, will be exempt from the illiberal narrowness which gave birth to the late terrible contest. That contest was the culmination of a long conflict between Massachusetts and South Carolina. Each of those States is inhabited by a white population which is almost homogeneous, in Massachusetts the sameness of race and general equality of conditions fostered the doctrine of perfect human equality; while in South Carolina the presence of an inferior race led the people to regard this doctrine as absurd; and in both States a population living for nearly two centuries on the same confined patch of territory, a majority of whom had never been a hundred miles from home, naturally measured the world by their own standard. The people of the mountain States will naturally hold all such narrowness in contempt. They will have the enlargement of view and liberality of sentiment which befit the people of a vast and magnificent country, whose diversity of soil, climate, productions, and local circumstances create a corresponding diversity of interests, which no one Government is competent to care for in detail; and yet have great general interests requiring central regulation. Their mining interests, for example, require a set of regulations to which it would be absurd to apply the general principles relating to real estate in older communities. They will be quick to appreciate the advantages of local control over local affairs, while still a due value on the common protection afforded by the common Government. We therefore conclude that the growing Western influence in our politics will be salutary and beneficent.

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